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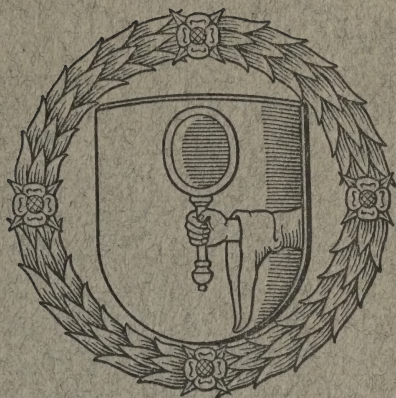
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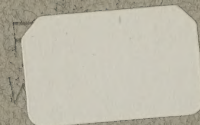
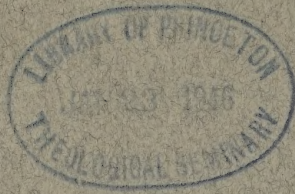
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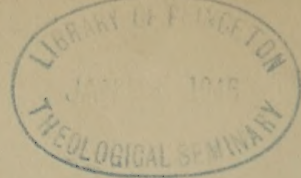
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THE ACTS OF THE COUNCIL OF 499 AND THE
DATE OF THE PRAYERS *COMMUNICANTES*
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OF THE MASS

PHILIP BARROWS WHITEHEAD

IN the year 499 there was convened at Rome, under Pope Symmachus, a council composed of the bishops of Italy and the presbyters and deacons of Rome. The Acts of this council¹ are an historical source of great importance to the student of mediaeval Rome, because they contain the oldest complete list of the *tituli*, that is to say, of the ancient parish churches of the city. The names of the *tituli* are found at the end of the document in the signatures of the Roman presbyters, each of whom, in signing the Acts of the Council, added to his own name that of the church which he served, using a formula of which there are two varieties exemplified in the following signatures: 'Petrus presbyter tituli Clementis subscripsi.' 'Servusdei presbyter tituli sancti Clementis subscripsi.'

Of the sixty-seven presbyters who signed the Acts of the Council of 499, there were only seven who used the second and, at that time, comparatively new variety of the formula in which the word *sancti* is prefixed to the name of the church. It has generally been supposed that this variation in the form of the signature was due to the caprice of the signer, or to errors of the scribes who copied the manuscripts in which the document has been preserved. The purpose of the following study is to show that the use of the word *sancti* in the signatures of some of the presbyters is not accidental and that it is a fact which has an important bearing upon the date of the prayers *Communicantes* and *Nobis quoque*.

I. THE ROMAN *TITULI*²

Before attempting to discuss the relation of the signatures of 499 to the date of the prayers *Communicantes* and *Nobis quoque*, it

¹ Ed. Th. Mommsen, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, A. A., xii (Berlin, 1894), 393 ff.

² L. Duchesne, 'Notes sur la Topographie de Rome au Moyen-Age. Les Titres Presbytéraux et les Diaconies,' in *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Ecole Française de Rome*

will be necessary to give a brief outline of the origin and history of the Roman *tituli*, with especial reference to several of these churches which will be of particular importance in the course of the following discussion.

During the greater part of the first three centuries of the history of the Roman church, the only places within the walls of the city where Christian worship was held were private houses. The houses in which congregations were accustomed to meet became in time the centers of the parish organization of the city. Some of these houses were, at a very early date, given over entirely to the Church and became to all intents and purposes ecclesiastical property. When the Church emerged from the era of persecution, and was free to erect church buildings that were better adapted to the elaborate ritual of Christian worship which had by that time developed, these private houses were one by one torn down and replaced by stately basilicas. The names of the original owners of the property continued, however, to be used as the names of the churches which took the place of the earlier private houses.

The designation *titulus* which is applied to these early churches has been variously explained. The most reasonable supposition, however, is that it came into Christian usage as a legal term denoting ownership. The name of the *titulus Clementis* in the signature quoted above probably goes back to a time when the property on which the church stands was owned by some one who bore the name of Clement. By the year 499, the word *titulus* had become an ecclesiastical term, which was used to designate the twenty-five parish churches of the city, and to distinguish them from the suburban churches erected over the graves of the martyrs, as well as from the churches within the walls which possessed a different status. To the latter class belonged, first of all, the Lateran basilica,— the cathedral of Rome,— and at a later time the diaconal churches and the numerous churches and chapels erected in honor of the saints,

VII (1887), 217–243. J. P. Kirsch, *Die Römischen Titelkirchen im Altertum*, Paderborn, 1918, and 'Origine e carattere primitivo delle stazioni liturgiche di Roma,' in *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* III (1925), 123–141. Dom G. Morin, 'Liturgie et Basiliques de Rome au Milieu du vii^e Siècle d'après les Listes d'Évangiles de Würzburg,' in *Revue Bénédictine* XXVIII (1911), 296–330.

of which the earliest and most important was Santa Maria Maggiore, erected by Sixtus III (432-440).

In the fifth and sixth centuries the custom of dedicating churches to saints became universal. During this period the original names of the *tituli* were changed to those of the saints to whom they are now dedicated. In some cases, popular imagination created picturesque legends to account for the names of these ancient churches. In these legends the persons whose names the *tituli* had preserved, but about whom everything else had been forgotten, were converted into saints and martyrs. Some of these legends doubtless contain a nucleus of historical fact. The founders of the *titulus Clementis* and of the *titulus Caeciliae*, for example, were identified with St Clement and St Caecilia, both of whom were historical Roman martyrs, and may actually have been, as tradition records, the owners of the houses in which originated the churches that bear their names. When the name of a *titulus* was, as in these instances, the same as that of a celebrated martyr, the primitive name of the church was retained, but the title 'Saint' was added to that of the founder. Thus the *titulus Clementis* became the *titulus sancti Clementis*. Sometimes, however, the founder of the church was entirely forgotten, and the original name of the *titulus* was replaced by that of a popular saint. Thus the ancient *titulus Lucinae*, which had been founded by a pious matron named Lucina, was rebuilt and dedicated to St Lawrence by Sixtus III.¹ In the signatures to the Acts of the Council of 499, this church is referred to both by its primitive name *titulus Lucinae*, and also by the name *titulus sancti Laurenti*.

In some instances there were introduced into Rome the cults of foreign saints whose names happened to be the same as those of existing *tituli*. The cult of a new saint was naturally located in the church, whenever there happened to be one, which already bore the same name. The actual names of three of the *tituli* which are to be discussed below arose in this way. The churches of St Anastasia, St Chrisogono, and St Sabina were originally *titulus Anastasiae*, *titulus Chrysogoni*, and *titulus Sabinae*. These names had undoubtedly been derived from the founders of the churches in question,

¹ Santi Pesarini, 'San Lorenzo fuori le mura,' in *Studi Romani* I (1913), 43.

and continued to be used without the addition of the title 'Saint' until the cults of the eastern saints, Anastasia and Chrysogonus, and of the Umbrian saint, Sabina, had been brought to Rome.

In the year 499 the custom of adding the title 'Saint' to the names of the ancient parish churches of Rome was just beginning to prevail. In the two signatures quoted above, one priest wrote the name of his church *titulus sancti Clementis*, while another, more conservative, clung to the ancient usage, and wrote simply *titulus Clementis*. In the signatures to the Acts of the Council of 499 the word *sancti* (*sanctae*) is used before the names of only five churches. That the use of the title 'Saint' in these instances is not due to mere caprice of the signers or to errors of the manuscripts will be shown by the fact that, in each case where it is found, the name of the *titulus* to which it is added is the same as that of a saint whose name was at that time included in the prayers *Communicantes* and *Nobis quoque*.

II. THE PRAYERS *COMMUNICANTES* AND *NOBIS QUOQUE*

Since the prayers *Communicantes* and *Nobis quoque* must be discussed in detail, it will be convenient to quote them here in the form in which they are now found in the Roman missal.

Communicantes, et memoriam
venerantes, in primis gloriosae
semper Virginis Mariae, genitricis
Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi:
sed et beatorum Apostolorum ac
Martyrum tuorum, Petri et Pauli,
Andreae, Jacobi, Joannis, Thomae,
Jacobi, Philippi, Bartholomaei,
Matthaei, Simonis et Thaddaei:
Lini, Cleti, Clementis, Xysti,
Cornelii, Cypriani, Laurentii,
Chrysogoni, Joannis et Pauli,
Cosmae et Damiani, et omnium
sanctorum tuorum: quorum meritis
precibusque concedas, ut in omnibus
protectionis tuae muniamur auxilio.

Nobis quoque peccatoribus
famulis tuis, de multitudine
miserationum tuarum sperantibus,
partem aliquam et societatem
donare digneris, cum tuis sanctis
Apostolis et Martyribus: cum
Joanne, Stephano, Mathia, Barnaba
Ignatio, Alexandro, Marcellino,
Petro, Felicitate, Perpetua,
Agatha, Lucia, Agnete, Caecilia,
Anastasia, et omnibus sanctis tuis:
intra quorum nos consortium, non
aestimator meriti, sed veniae,
quaesumus, largitor, admitte.

The lists of saints found in these prayers have a long history.¹ From a very early date it was customary to recite during the celebration of the Eucharist a list of saints whose prayers were invoked.² These lists were not everywhere the same. Each local church, perhaps even each parish, had its own list, in which from time to time were inserted the names of new saints whose cults became popular. In what part of the eucharistic service these lists were recited, by what words they were introduced, or what names they originally contained, are questions which cannot now be answered with any degree of certainty. The prayers *Communicantes* and *Nobis quoque*, as they now stand in the Roman missal, are a late addition to the canon. This is shown by the fact that they interrupt the logical continuity of the eucharistic prayer, that the *Communicantes* is grammatically incomplete, and that both prayers contain the names of saints who were unknown in Rome at a time when the canon of the mass was in other respects practically what it is to-day. A close scrutiny of the lists of saints now found in these prayers shows that they grew up by the successive addition of names of saints, among which are some whose cults were introduced into Rome as late as the sixth century. We cannot be certain that these lists were definitely closed before the reform and codification of the liturgy by Gregory the Great. Even after that date, considerable liberty was taken in the addition to these prayers of the names of local saints by the churches to which the Gregorian mass was carried by Roman missionaries. Indeed, the prayer *Communicantes* never attained the quality of immutability which belongs to the other portions of the canon. There are even now in the Roman missal variant forms of this prayer which are used on the great festivals.

A distinguished authority on Catholic liturgy, Mgr Batiffol,³ has recently brought together a considerable amount of evidence from which he draws the conclusion that the prayers *Communicantes* and

¹ Cabrol et Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne* IV, 1, 1045-1094 (*DIPTYQUES*) and II, 11, 1847-1905 (*CANON ROMAIN*). Fortesq, *Cath. Encyc.*, III, 262, 265. For individual saints the articles signed by J. P. Kirsch in the *Cath. Encyc.* may be referred to.

² Augustine, *Serm.* 84, Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, XXXV, 1847: 'ad mensam (domini) . . . (martires) commemoramus . . . ut ipsi (orent) pro nobis.'

³ P. Batiffol, *Leçons sur la Messe* (8th ed., Paris, Lecoffre, 1923), pp. 226-229.

Nobis quoque in their present form were introduced into the canon of the mass by Pope Symmachus (498–514). Mgr Batiffol finds that a number of the Roman churches dedicated to saints whose names occur in these prayers are mentioned for the first time in documents which can be referred to the pontificate of Symmachus. Some of these documents will be discussed in the present article. It is not, however, my purpose to examine all the evidence which might be brought to bear upon the question of the date of the prayers *Communicantes* and *Nobis quoque*, but only to state as fully as possible the evidence which is found in the signatures to the Acts of the Council of 499.

(a) THE PRAYER *Communicantes*

In his discussion of the prayer *Communicantes*, Batiffol quotes a passage from the life of Symmachus in the *Liber Pontificalis*, in which the ancient *titulus Pammachi* is for the first time referred to as the church of Sts John and Paul,¹ and another passage from the same source which mentions the erection of a chapel by Symmachus in honor of Sts Cosmas and Damian.² He also cites the signatures to the Acts of the Council of 499 as containing the earliest reference to the basilica of St Chrysogonus. 'De ces synchronismes,' he argues, 'on conclura que le *Communicantes* reçu ne peut être antérieur au vi^e siècle et est selon toute apparence du pape Symmaque.'

These synchronisms, when examined, are found to be even less convincing than at first appears. The passage in which the *titulus Pammachi* is first called the church of Sts John and Paul is found only in the second edition of the *Liber Pontificalis*, which was written long after the time of Symmachus and is therefore irrelevant. The passage which records the construction of an *oratorium* in honor of Sts Cosmas and Damian merely shows that their cult had been introduced into Rome before the death of Symmachus. The reference to the church of St Chrysogonus in the signatures of 499 will, after a more attentive study of the prayer *Communicantes*, lead to quite a different conclusion from that which is drawn by Batiffol.

¹ L. Duchesne, *Le Liber Pontificalis* (Paris, 1886, 1892), I, 262: 'Ad beatum Johannem et Paulum fecit gradus post absidam.'

² Duchesne, *loc. cit.*: 'Ad sanctam Mariam oratorium sanctorum Cosmae et Damiani a fundamento construxit.'

The list of saints in the prayer *Communicantes* begins with the name of the Mother of our Lord, who is invoked in language that recalls the decisions of the Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431). There follow the names of the Apostles, with St Peter and St Paul in the place of honor. Then come the names of five martyred Popes in chronological order, the latest of whom is Cornelius (251–253). To these are joined the names of St Cyprian and St Lawrence, the two most renowned martyrs of the Roman and African churches. St Cyprian was venerated at Rome as early as the fourth century. His festival falls on the same day as that of Cornelius, and both were celebrated together at the catacombs of Calixtus. This list of saints up to and including St Lawrence is characteristically Roman, and includes no saints who may not have been venerated at Rome in the fourth century. It is worth noticing that in this, which I believe to be the original form of the list, the names of the twelve Apostles are followed by the names of seven martyrs, who take the place of the seven deacons of the Apostolic church.

If the prayer were punctuated according to historical logic, there would be a colon after the name of St Lawrence, for the following names, by which the list of martyrs is brought up to twelve, belong to a different category. Chrysogonus and the two martyr physicians Cosmas and Damian were eastern saints, whose cults could not have been brought to Rome much before the year 500. It is not likely that the names of Cosmas and Damian were introduced into the canon of the mass before Felix IV (526–530) dedicated to them the celebrated church of SS Cosma e Damiano on the Sacra Via.¹ John and Paul, although they are Roman saints, are of very doubtful historicity.² There is no evidence that their cult was recognized before the end of the sixth century.

The list of saints found in the prayer *Communicantes* up to and including the name of St Lawrence may be as old as the early part of the fifth century and might have been composed about the time of the Council of Ephesus (431), which, for the first time, formally

¹ P. B. Whitehead, 'The Church of SS Cosma e Damiano in Rome,' *American Journal of Archaeology* XXXI (1927), 1–18.

² Pio Franchi de' Cavalieri, 'Nuove Note Agiografiche,' *Studi e Testi* IX (1912), 55–65.

defined the meaning of the doctrine that the Virgin Mary was, in the words of this prayer, *genetrix Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi*. That the last five names cannot have been added till after the year 499, and that they probably were not added till much later, is shown by the use of the title 'Saint' in the signatures to the Acts of the Council of 499.

Among the names of the *tituli* in the signatures of 499 there are four which are also the names of saints found in the prayer *Communicantes* — Matthew, Clement, Lawrence, and Chrysogonus. The first of these occurs once in the signatures as *titulus sancti Matthaei*. The second occurs three times in the signatures, twice as *titulus sancti Clementis* and once as *titulus Clementis*, where the word *sancti* is found in some of the manuscripts.¹ The name of Chrysogonus, on the other hand, is found three times in the signatures and always without the title 'Saint.' We may, therefore, conclude that in the year 499 the cult of St Chrysogonus, and presumably the cults of the saints whose names follow that of Chrysogonus in the prayer *Communicantes*, had not been officially recognized by the Roman church, and that therefore the prayer in its present form could not at that time have been in use. The weight of this evidence will be greatly increased by an examination of the prayer *Nobis quoque*.

¹ The manuscript authority for the reading *sancti* (*sanctae*) as given in the critical apparatus of Mommsen's edition may be summarized as follows:

8	Sanctae Sabinae	A	B	F	T	E	C	H	G	D	M
24	Sancti Clementis	A	B	F	T	E	C	H	G	D	M
67	Sancti Laurenti	A	B	F	T	E	C	H	G	D	M
3	Sanctae Caeciliae	A		F	T	E	C		G	D	M
23	Sancti Matthaei	A		F	T			H	G	D	M
59	[Sancti Laurenti]	A				E		H	G	D	M
6	Sancti Clementis		B	F	T	E		H	G	D	M
5	[Sancti] Clementis					E	C	H	G	D	M
7	[Sancti] Iuli		B	F	T						

The MS. *D* alone in nine other places and the MS. *C* alone in two other places add *sancti* (*sanctae*).

In Mommsen's edition the word *sancti* (*sanctae*) is admitted to the text only when found in the Vatican manuscript, *A* (*Cod. Vat. Reg.*, 1997). In the case of No. 6, however, the evidence for the reading *sancti Clementis* seems to me convincing. No. 59, *Laurentius presbyter tituli Laurenti*, is undoubtedly an error of transcription (see Duchesne, *op. cit.*). In only one other case, No. 5, can there be any serious question as to whether the word *sancti* should be admitted to the text; if in this case it is an interpolation, it is at least an early one.

(b) THE PRAYER *Nobis quoque*

The list of saints in the prayer *Nobis quoque* begins with the two great martyrs St John the Baptist and St Stephen, followed by the two surrogate apostles, Matthias and Barnabas. Then comes the name of St Ignatius, who probably owes his place in the Roman mass both to the fact that he was the most illustrious successor of St Peter in the see of Antioch, and to the fact that he suffered martyrdom at Rome. His name in this prayer thus balances the names of the Popes in the *Communicantes*. After St Ignatius come Alexander, Marcellinus and Peter, all of whom are historical Roman martyrs whose memorials were venerated in the catacombs.

Up to this point the list of saints in the prayer *Nobis quoque* shares with the original list in the prayer *Communicantes* the characteristic of containing no names which may not have been invoked during the Roman mass from a very early date. The list of female saints which follows — quite aside from the fact that they are women — is of so different a character as to suggest that it is a late addition to the prayer. Of the female saints, three only are Roman martyrs — Agnes, Caecilia, and Felicitas; two are Sicilian — Agatha and Lucia; one is an African martyr — Perpetua; the last, Anastasia, is an eastern saint. The composition of this list is such as to lend credibility to the tradition that it was added to the prayer by Gregory the Great.

Whatever the date of the actual prayer *Nobis quoque*, it is possible to reconstruct several stages in the history of the list of saints that it contains and to determine the names that were included in it in the year 499.

The earliest known text of the Roman canon of the mass is found in the seventh-century Bobbio missal.¹ In this manuscript the list of female saints in the prayer *Nobis quoque* is: *Perpetuae, Agne, Caecilia, Felicitate, Anastasia, Agathe, Lucia, Eogeniae*. With the exception of Eugenia, which the scribe of the Bobbio missal misspelled Eogenia, the names included in this list are those found in the prayer *Nobis quoque* as it now stands in the Roman missal.

¹ E. A. Lowe, *The Bobbio Missal* (text, 1920); phototype reproduction published also by the Henry Bradshaw Society, Vol. LIII, London, 1917.

The popularity of Eugenia in the Roman church was shortlived. Her cult ultimately fell into oblivion, probably because her festival happened to fall on the 25th of December and was crowded out by the celebration of Christmas.

The most striking fact in regard to the list of names just quoted from the Bobbio missal is the variation in case-endings. The list appears to have been compiled from different sources by someone who was ignorant of Latin grammar. What these sources were will be evident at a glance to anyone who is familiar with the documents of early Christian history. The names in the genitive case, *Perpetuae* and *Eogeniae*, must have been transcribed from a martyrology. All the remaining names are in the ablative case,¹—as they should be,—and must have been taken from an earlier recension of the prayer *Nobis quoque*. Striking off the names of Perpetua and Eugenia, we have therefore the list as it stood in a recension of the prayer which antedates the Bobbio missal:

Agne, Caecilia, Felicitate, Anastasia, Agathe, Lucia.

In regard to the list which we now have before us, two very important facts appear. The names of the Sicilian saints, Agatha and Lucia, occur together at the end; and if they be disregarded, the remaining four names stand in the order in which their festivals are found in the calendar.²

If this list — Agnes, Caecilia, Felicitas, Anastasia — be compared with the signatures to the Acts of the Council of 499, it will be found that Caecilia and Anastasia are also the names of churches which are represented in the signatures. There was one priest who signed as *presbyter tituli Caeciliae* and one who signed as *presbyter tituli sanctae Caeciliae*. From this we may conclude that in the year 499 the cult of Caecilia had been officially recognized, and that her name was included in the list which was recited during the celebration of the mass. The *titulus Anastasiae* on the other hand was represented in the council by three priests, each of whom signed

¹ *Agne* is the correct form, and not *Agnete*, the form now found in the Roman missal.

² The dates of the festivals of the female saints in the list given by the Bobbio missal are: Perpetua (*Cal. Philocal.*), 7 March; Agnes (*ibid.*), 21 January; Caecilia (*Mart. Hieron.*), 16 September; Felicitas (*ibid.*), 23 November; Anastasia (*ibid.*), 25 December; Agatha (*ibid.*), 5 February; Lucia (*ibid.*), 13 December; Eugenia (*Sacr. Leon.*), 25 December.

simply *presbyter tituli Anastasiae*. The name of Anastasia was therefore not in the prayer *Nobis quoque* in the year 499. We may strike off her name from the list as given in the Bobbio missal. There remain the names of three of the most celebrated martyrs of the Roman church: AGNES, CAECILIA, FELICITAS.¹

It is now possible to reconstruct the original form of the list of saints in the prayer *Nobis quoque*. When this list is compared with the original list in the prayer *Communicantes*, the similarity of the plan on which the two prayers are constructed is too obvious to require elucidation:

<i>Communicantes</i>	<i>Nobis Quoque</i>
The Blessed Virgin	St John the Baptist
The Twelve Apostles	Stephen Matthias Barnabas
Seven martyrs	Seven martyrs
Linus	Ignatius
Cletus	Alexander
Clement	Marcellinus
Xystus	Peter
Cornelius	Agnes
Cyprian	Caecilia
Lawrence	Felicitas

This reconstruction of the original list of saints in the prayer *Nobis quoque* may be confirmed, if it needs confirmation, by comparing it with the list found in the same prayer in the so-called Ambrosian rite. The canon of the mass in the liturgy of the church of Milan is derived from a recension of the Roman canon, which is older than that preserved in any known manuscript.² In the Ambrosian *Nobis quoque* the list of female saints begins, as in the original Roman prayer, *Agne Caecilia Felicitate*. Also, in the celebrated mosaic of S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna, in which the list of female saints represented is obviously based upon an early recension of the prayer *Nobis quoque*, the names of Agnes, Caecilia, and Felicitas, although they do not follow in immediate sequence, occur in

¹ O. Marucchi, *Le Catacombe Romane* (Rome, Desclée, Lefebvre, 1905); pp. 154 ff., *Regione dei Papi e di S. Cecilia*; pp. 347 ff., *Cimitero di S. Agnese*; pp. 388 ff., *Cimitero di S. Felicità*.

² Fedele Savio, 'I dittici del canone ambrosiano e del canone romano,' in *Miscellanea di Storia Italiana*, III^a serie, XI (XLII della Raccolta, Torino, 1906), pp. 209-223.

the same relative order in the first half of the list and before the name of Anastasia.¹

With one exception, the title 'Saint' is found in the signatures of 499 only before names which occur in the prayers *Communicantes* and *Nobis quoque*. The exception is St Sabina. There were two priests who signed the Acts of the Council as *presbyter tituli Sabinae* and one who signed as *presbyter tituli sanctae Sabinae*. Since the name of Sabina is not now found in the canon of the mass, the theory set forth above would be untenable were it not for the fact that there is sufficient evidence to prove that the name of this Umbrian martyr was once included in the Roman canon. The proof of this fact is found in the prayer *Nobis quoque* of the Ambrosian rite, in which is found, in addition to the names of a number of local saints of the church of Milan which were obviously introduced after the Roman mass had been brought there, the name *Savina*.² This is clearly a misspelling of *Sabina*, the confusion of *b* and *v* being common in late Latin.³ There is, however, no trace of an authentic Milanese saint of this name. The only mention of St Sabina which I have found in which she is associated with Milan is in a postscript to the late and spurious Acts of Sts Nabor and Felix.⁴ The presence of her name in the Ambrosian canon of the mass can, therefore, be explained only on the supposition that it was in the Roman canon at the time when the Roman mass was introduced into Milan.⁵

If the name of Sabina had been added to the prayer *Nobis quoque* in 499, then the original prayer, as I have reconstructed it, must have been still older. I should be inclined to assign the original *Nobis quoque* to the same date as the original *Communicantes*, and to attribute them both to Sixtus III.

In the prayer *Nobis quoque*, as it now stands in the Roman missal, the list of saints has been arranged according to a very different plan from that of the original prayer. The name of St John the Baptist, it is true, still stands at the head of the list, in the place which cor-

¹ J. Kurth, *Die Wandmosaiken von Ravenna* (Munich, 1913), p. 184.

² Fedele Savio, *op. cit.*

³ Cf. C. H. Grandgent, *From Latin to Italian* (Cambridge, 1927), § 103, p. 86.

⁴ A. S., July III., p. 294.

⁵ Sabina is also one of the saints represented in the mosaic of S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna. Cf. Delehaye, *Les Origines du Culte des Martyrs* (Brussels, 1912), pp. 360, 372.

responds to that of the Virgin Mary in the prayer *Communicantes*. Then come the names of seven men, followed by the names of seven women. The names of the female saints have been rearranged to suit the fancy of the ultimate redactor, but traces of the older redactions are still apparent. The names of the Sicilian saints, Agatha and Lucia, and the names of Agnes, Caecilia, and Anastasia, are still kept together. The displacement of the name of Felicitas is probably due to the fact that it is the same as that of the African martyr whose festival was celebrated on the same day as that of Perpetua¹ and with whom, apparently, she was confused by the redactor. This, together with the fact that foreign saints have been placed ahead of the authentic Roman martyrs, indicates that the final redaction occurred at a very late date, surely not until after the continuity of Roman tradition had been broken by the frightful catastrophe of the Gothic wars in the middle of the sixth century, and probably not until after the time of Gregory the Great.

CONCLUSION

The facts regarding the use of the word *sancti* (*sanctae*) before the names of the *tituli* in the Acts of the Council of 499 may be summarized as follows. All the names of *tituli* before which the word *sancti* (*sanctae*) is used in the signatures of 499 are the names of saints which were at that time included in the prayers *Communicantes* and *Nobis quoque*. On the other hand, the names of Chrysogonus and Anastasia, which occur at or near the end of these prayers and so were presumably among the last to be added, are each found three times in the signatures without the title 'Saint.' Both of these are eastern saints whose cults became popular in Rome during the Byzantine period. The relics of St Chrysogonus were brought to Rome from Aquileia and placed in the *titulus Chrysogoni*, which thereafter was called the *titulus sancti Chrysogoni*.² The relics of St Anastasia had been carried from Sirmium to Constantinople between 458 and 471. She became one of the most highly venerated

¹ *Cal. Philocal., non Martias. Perpetuae et Felicitatis Africae.*

² The first occurrence of *titulus sancti Chrysogoni* is in an inscription of the year 521. De Rossi, *Insc. Chr.*, I, no. 975. Cf. A. Dufourcq, *Etude sur les Gesta Martyrum* (Paris, 1900), p. 121.

saints of the Byzantine church, whence her cult was introduced into Rome and located in the *titulus Anastasiae* which became, from that time on, the *titulus* or *basilica sanctae Anastasiae*.¹ In view of the great veneration in which both St Chrysogonus and St Anastasia were held from the time when their cults were introduced into Rome, a veneration which caused their names to be added to the lists of Apostles and authentic Roman martyrs who are invoked during the mass, it is most unlikely that the title 'Saint' would have been omitted by the six presbyters of the *titulus Chrysogoni* and the *titulus Anastasiae* who signed the Acts of the Council of 499, if at that date their cults had been introduced into Rome and their relics placed in the churches which bear their names.

The addition of the word *sancti* (*sanctae*) to the names of some of the *tituli* cannot have been fortuitous. In signing an important official document a priest would hardly have added the title 'Saint' to the name of his church, unless it were the name of a saint whose cult was formally recognized by ecclesiastical authority. Saints Matthew, Lawrence, Clement, and Caecilia had long been venerated in Rome by the year 499. Their names are found in the older and authentically Roman parts of the prayers *Communicantes* and *Nobis quoque* and, with that of Sabina, whose name must at that time have been included in the prayer *Nobis quoque*, are the only ones to which the title 'Saint' is added in the signatures of 499. The analysis of the prayers has shown that they did not originally contain the names of Chrysogonus and Anastasia. The signatures of 499 establish a *terminus post quem* for the introduction of these two names into the canon of the mass. The force of the facts here presented is to weaken the argument of Batiffol for assigning the prayers *Communicantes* and *Nobis quoque* in their present form to the time of Symmachus. It would seem more probable that the lists of saints which they contain were not completed before the time of Gregory the Great, and that they were not arranged in their present order until the seventh century.

¹ P. B. Whitehead, 'The Church of S. Anastasia in Rome,' *American Journal of Archaeology* XXXI (1927), 405-420.

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